

James. Barry

A LORD'S SPEECH without Doors.

To the Lords upon the present Condition of the GOVERNMENT.

Mr. Lords,

PRAY give me leave to cast in my Mite at this time, upon this great debate, and though it be without an entire dissent to some leading Lords, to whom I bear great reverence, it is according to my Conscience, and that is the *Rule* of every honest Mans Actions. My Lords, I cannot forbear thinking that a greater reproach can hardly come upon any people, than is like to fall upon us Protestants, for this unpresumed usage of our poor King: We feared the security of our Religion because of Him, and are now like to violate a great part of it by forfeiting our *Loyalty* towards him; Religion is the pretence, but some fear, *a new Master is the thing*: This I take to have been the business of to day; for notwithstanding we see how feeble a thing Popery is in *England*, that it is bearen without blows, and routed to effectually, that it can never hope, nor we justly fear, it should return upon us, and consequently our Religion pretty secure; yet I don't see that this satisfies us, unless the King goes also: He must be turned away, and the Crown change its Head, for if the Crown be not the Quarrel, more then Property, and his *Majesties* Person, then his Religion; Why did not the Prince stop, when he heard a Free Parliament was calling by the King's Writs, (where all matters, especially that of the *Prince of Wales* might have been considered) or at least, where his *Majesties* Commissioners of Peace met him, who advised him to advance, and give his Majesty that apprehension of his own insecurity, and if any thing but a Crown would have served him, Why was a *Noble Peer* of this House clapt up at *Windsor*, when his Majesty sent him on purpose to invite the Prince to *St. James's*? a Message that affected all good mens hearts more then any thing, but his *Majesties* return, *is lookt so natural and peaceable*. But it seems, as if it had been therefore affronted, for the invitation could not have been
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received without the Kings remaining King; and who was there that did not lately say, it should be so? and who is there now that does not see it is not so? We can my Lords, no longer doubt of this, if we will remember that the same night the Prince should have answered his Majesties kind Message, *The Kings Guards were changed, and at midnight, the Princes Guards were clapt upon his Majestie person,* and which is yet more extravagant to accomplish the business. *Three noble Lords,* in view, were sent to let him know, *It was not for his safety, or the Princes honour, that he should stay in his own Palace.* A strange way, my Lords, of treating ones own King in his own House; I cannot comprehend how it was for the Prince honour the King should go against his will, or how it was against his honour that his Majesty should be safe in his own House: I leave it with your Lordships to think who could render the King stay unsafe at *White-hall*, after the *Dutch Guards* were posted there. My Lords, this I confess is the great Iniquity that sticks with me, and deserves our severest scrutiny and reflection; that after driving our King away, we should offer to address our selves to any body to take the Government, as if he had formally deserted it: It becomes us rather to ask, *where the King is? how came he to go? and who sent him away?* I take the honour of the Peerage of England to be deeply engaged, both at home and abroad, to search out this matter, and especially those, who are now present, most of whom owe their station in that Noble Order to his Majesty, his Brother, Father or Grand Father. It is not unreasonable to believe the King had not gone at first, but upon some Message sent, and Letters received, to take care of his Person, for that nothing less then the Crown was intended but being not out of his own Territories, and therefore no Desertion, Abdication or Demise, as the Criticks of the Conjunction we are under pretend, (for the King may be where he will in his own Kingdom we see while it was in his choice to go, he returned, and by as good as our advice too so that we cannot in truth say, his Desertion the cause; for it is plainly the defect of our late extraordinary proceeding

ceedings. If any should say, *He needed not have gone now*, it is a great mistake, for a King ought to go, if he cannot stay a King in his own Kingdom, which *Force* refused to let him be: And to stay a *Subject* to another Authority, had been a meaner Forfeiture of his Right, that can in Justice be charged upon his Retirement: Wherefore his going must and will lye at their doors, that set him an hour to be gone out of his own Palace. Many are angry (and yet pleased) that he is gone for *France*; but where, my Lords, should he go? *Flanders* dared not receive him; *Holland*, you could not think he should go to; and *Ireland* you would have liked less; and when we consider how far a League with *France* had made the cause of his Misfortune (though to this day it is in the Clouds) what other Prince had the same obligation to receive and succor him: Therefore whatever arts are used to blaken his retreat, we cannot with any shew of reason imagine that he could think himself safe with us, that had exercised *Sovereign power without our Sovereign Lord*, and under the protection of a *Foreign Prince and his Army*; though at the same time, we had sworn *Allegiance to him*, and that it was unlawful for us to take up Arms against him under any pretence whatever.

My Lords, if this be not virtually, and in effect to pull the *Crown* off his Head, and dethrone him unheard, I am to learn my Alphabet again. This is short warning to give Kings, for us at least, that boast of Loyalty, and were brought to these Seats by the favour of the *Crown*. What can other Nations think of the Nobility of this, if we come not to a juster temper? God defend us and our Children after us, from the ill consequences of what has been done, and prevent the rest. Had we imbraced the happy providence of his Majesty's return, we might have improved it, that the Children unborn should have blessed us; Then we had reformed safely, for by joyning Title to our Actions, we had made them legal; This we should have had from His Majesty, or a plain denial, which would in some measure have excused so rare and unusual an enterprise; Nor can I comprehend which way it is possible

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to Guard the Princes Honour, but by doing His Majesty Right; for your Lordships may please to remember, that in the *Memorial of the States*, that was Printed amongst us, which they gave to all the publick Ministers at the *Hague*, to justify their lending the Prince their Forces upon this expedition; they do expressly say, *It was upon condition not to dethrone the King, or alter the Succession*, and in my opinion, we are in the high way to both.

My Lords, we are Protestant Christians; as well as Peers of the Realm, and are now upon our Religion and Conscience, as well of Honour, to do Right: Let us so Act as we can answer it to God and Man, and not stumble at Straws; and leap over Blocks: Errors cannot be corrected committing greater; nor one part of the Government be mended, by beating out another to do it, I need not tell your Lordships, that by our Laws, Kings cannot Err, and therefore they are not accountable, but their Ministers are, without whom a King cannot perform any Act of Government, which is the reason of the maxim, and therefore let them be punished, that the Law only make guilty. This our Wise Ancestors contrived to save the Head of the Government whole, and to prevent the Confusion and dishonour that might otherwise be apt to attend the form of it, not is it indeed, a thing, that ought to be endured by us Peers, to suppose that any that raised us so, could be by any reason thrown by us so low.

My Lords let us limit the King if you please, but not renounce him; there is a difference between Restraining and Destroying him. What need of such extraordinary Remedies, since that which secures the Government under one King will do it under another: Popery it self can never come in, but over the Bridge of Despotick or Absolute power, and if we can secure ourselves from that, we are as safe against Opinion as against Ambition, and till we are so by an amendment, of our constitution, we are exposed to the meer good nature of the Prince in Possession, whoever he be: And to render what I have said to your Lordships not unreasonable,

able, and what I have to move your Lordships to, in the close of my Speech, not ungrateful; I beseech your Lordships, that we may cast up our account, and see how our loss and gain stands, so far as we have gone in our late Change.

We have lost a Lawful King, and got an unlawful Protector, as our Laws stands; we have misd a legal and free Parliament, and have got a Convention that cannot make Laws, nor call a Parliament that can, but what will need a confirmation from a better Authority.

We have lost the reputation of keeping our faith with Hereticks, by breaking our solemn Oaths with our King, in the times of his extremity, because we thought him such, though he gave us leave to lay down our Commissions, that we might not have the temptation or occasion to betray Him; But we have got the reputation of good Protestants by it, though I fear, not of good Men, in that some of us have not only shown our selves religiously concerned for our Religion, but in some respect, not honestly, that besides a Thousand personal immoralities, could perswade money from the King over night, to bear the charges of dissembling Him next day, against our *warm and repeated Vows*, to take his fate, and die at his Feet; and that any of us should be *Sainted*, for his treachery, and numbered among the Heroes for our running away, cannot surely be the Lords doing, let Dr. Burnet say what he will, and yet it is very marvelous in some mens eyes for all that, These are the Sparks, my Lords, that hunt the poor Kings Blood, though we know they had hardly had any in their veins but for his bounty, and yet are the favourites of the Reformation. For Christs sake, my Lords, let us not at this rate christen Villany, and rank dishonesty among the Graces. Popery it self could not have done more, and it is certain, we are even with the Papists now to all intents and purposes.

This is not all our loss, we have rebelled against the fifth Commandment also, Honour thy Father; and though we have got that
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of leaving Father for the sake of Religion, we could have but little Religion to do it in such a manner, to so affectionate a Father; nor did it lessen the error, to have a Church of England Apostle to be Captain of her Life Guard, in his Blem Coat, and Jack Boots, and an Arrant Temporal Sword in his hand, to defend natural Affection and passive Obedience. This was an odd sort of Compliance with our Savious command, to put up his Sword, as on of St. Peters Successors. My Lords, I must not stop here; we thought we had been rid of Popish Souldiers, but find we have got as many Papists in our Dutch, as we had in our English Army: Now it is plain, that either all Papists are not alike, and then the danger we have apprehended from Papists, is not universal, as we have affirmed, but that they are to be lived with, since we are to be saved and guarded from the danger of Popery by them, or we have ill luck to think we can be safe from that Religion by those that are of it, because they are Dutch Men. My Lords I am sorry we can take such pleasure to see strangers tread our Courts, pray God it does not show the way to other Countrys to take their turn. But that a Dutch Papist should be so harmless a thing with us, that thought no Papist could be so, shows our contradiction to a madness: I know not how well our Souldiers like to give way to Dutch Men, that thought they had purchased a preference to Strangers at a dear rate; but it is the justest thing in the World upon them, that the Prince should distrust those to Guard him, that had betrayed their own Master, that loved them to a fault, they may serve to be sent for Holland, to be knockt on the head in the Dutch Mens quarrel, but never to be trusted at home, though they have given up their Quarters with their King to Forraigners so that the Proverb is true upon them, *they have hereby brought their Noble to Nine pence*; yet to be just, I must confess is a reproach due to their Officers, and not all of them neither, and time may give thole the Opportunity to receive the credit they have lost by other Mens faults.

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We were also very apprehensive of the ill consequences of the *dispensing power*, especially in the case of Sir *Edward Hales*, but it seems the common Council of *London* are forbid to take the usual Oaths, and yet required to act, which is an unqualified capacity. We were in hopes we had lost a rude Army, but we have found a Ruder; Twenty places cry out of them, and *Kingston* certainly with great justice; that in two nights time wastwo hundred Pounds the worse for them; and for *Closeting* we have got Questioning, that they won't enter into Associations to protect the *Prince of Orange*, without one word of protecting of our KING, is to have no Employment, so that if the Prince should take the Crown, I am bound to defend him against my own King and my Sworn Allegiance, though he come in right of his Crown. Believe me, my Lords, it is the boldest bid that ever Man made; I see Forty one was a Fool to Eighty eight; and that the Church of *England* Protestants shall cancel all the merits of our Fathers, overthrow the ground and consequence of their most Exemplary Loyalty to *King Charles* the first and second; render their death, the death of Fools, trample their Memories and Blood under our Feet, Subject our selves to the just reproach of the Phanaticks, whose principles and practices we have our-done, even to that King, that we forced upon them, and by our example had brought them to live well withal. God help us, this my Lords makes me say, that either we must turn from being Church of *England* men, or steer another course, for it is but too plain that presbytry is leading us out of our Ancient way, and whether we believe it or no, our Church sinks, and will more, for that is the interest that suits best with a *Dutch humour* and conjunction; and be sure, if we are so bare to leave our King, GOD will be so just as to leave us; and here, my Lords, I shall leave you, with this humble motion, that we make an humble Address to his Majesty to return home to us, that we may act securely, and not go out of the good old way, which may intail misery upon us and our posterity. I should think we have had enough of sending our Princes abroad

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abroad, in that much of the inconveniency we have lay under, since their Restoration, has been chiefly owing to it: We have driven him where we would not have him go, and do what we can to provoke that League we have been afraid of; and made a great part of this strange alteration in the Kingdom. Some tell us, *it is too late*, but I cannot comprehend the good sense of such an Objections, Is it at any time too late for a KING and his People to agree: after Bloody Battles it has not been thought so, in all times and Nations, and why it may not be without them, I never heard a good reason yet: if his going was so unreasonable: it hath hurt him more than us, since we may thence hope for the better terms; if it was not a fault to go, it will be a greater one in us, if we can have him home upon good terms, and will not; for if I may, with leave, speak it, his return is as much our conveniency as his Advantage.

The offensive part of Him is done, that is to say, the power of *Popery*, and what remains is our great interest to keep and improve to our own benefit and safety; I mean, my Lords, *this undoubted Title and Kingship*. And whatever some hot men say: that are more governed by private Avarice and Revenge, than the publick good of these Kingdoms, I cannot but renew my motion to your Lordships, that we may send a *Duke*, an *Earl*, a *Viscount* and a *Baron*, and two *Spiritual Lords* to invite his Majesty home, upon the constitution of the Government. And my Lords, forgive me if I say, that if we can but get our *Jurists*, *Sheriffs*, *Judges*, *High Courts of Chancery* and *Parliaments* settled as they ought to be; the *Army* at least reduced, the *Militia* better regulated, and a due *Liberty of Conscience* established to all Protestant Dissenters, and so far to Papists only as the *Law against Conventicles* does admit, we may yet be happy, and upon these terms, my Lords, and other, will his Highness the Prince of Orange become truly meritorious with the *English Nation*.

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